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CREATIVELY STUDY AND APPLY CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS,
CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

Following is a translation of an article by the Detachment for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thought of PLA Units in Peking and Units Directly Under the Air Force published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 44-48./

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great directive that "the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left," we made our way into the North China Metal Structure Plant on 13 February this year.

A grave struggle between the two classes and the two lines had for a long time been in existence in this plant. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the class struggle was even more acute and salient. In order to safeguard their reactionary rule, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant obstinately carried out the bourgeois reactionary line. They hit a great many in order to protect a handful. They introduced White Terror and ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres who brought their problems to light.

However, the proletarian revolutionaries refused to be cowed. They cleared one obstacle after another and formed their own revolutionary organization -- the Red Rebels. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they united the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres. On 14 January, they seized back power usurped by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant.

However, the class enemies are not reconciled to take their defeat lying down. They instigated an incident for the purpose of recapturing power, incited the masses to fight against the masses on a large scale, and created serious antagonism between the deceived masses and the Red Rebels.

It was under such a situation that our Detachment for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thought made our way into the plant.

Have Faith in and Rely on the Masses, Let the Masses Liberate Themselves

We followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "you must place politics in command, go among the masses and stay with them, and make a greater success of the great proletarian cultural revolution." We went deep among the masses, established wide contact with the masses of the organizations of various factions, found out what they had in mind, and listened to their views. We especially listened humbly to their critical views and seriously considered same.

When we first arrived at the plant, because we had not a clear idea of the situation and had not expressly made known our attitude, some persons with an ulterior object in view spread rumors and slanders to deceive the public and to provoke our relationship with the revolutionary masses. Because of this, some comrades of the Red Rebels misunderstood us and were rather indifferent toward us. We expressed no dissatisfaction over this, but took the initiative to get in touch with them and humbly listen to their views. After spending more than 20 days to investigate things in real earnest, we were of the opinion that seen in the light of the general orientation of the struggle and of the key problems in the struggle between the two lines in the plant, the Red Rebels was the organization of the revolutionary Left, and we openly expressed our firm support for them in the whole plant.

Chairman Mao said: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." In our work, we bore in mind at all times Chairman Mao's teaching, and guarded against monopoly or substitution and self-righteousness. After we worked over a period of time, the Red Rebels and the broad revolutionary masses developed a deep class affection for us. When they came across problems in work, they were always fond of seeking our advice. At that time, we did not try to impose our own view on them. Instead, we first creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind together with them, and solved their problems in conjunction with their own comprehension. The masses were allowed to educate and liberate themselves.

The process of knowing and supporting the proletarian revolutionaries is also a process of learning from the broad revolutionary masses. We have come to understand deeply that the broad revolutionary masses boundlessly cherish Chairman Mao, our great leader, and intensely hate the handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. The broad revolutionary masses most warmly cherish and respect the People's Liberation Army personally built and trained by Chairman Mao. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them and learn humbly from them before we can guard against belying Chairman Mao's teaching and the trust of the broad revolutionary masses in us.

Help the Proletarian Revolutionaries Distinguish Between Two Kinds of Contradiction of Different Character

Because of the provocation of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, the antagonism between the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the conservative organizations was very serious. In their everyday contact, they either ignored each other or denounced each other. They used whatever words that could vent their spleen, and carried out whatever things that were most infuriating to the opposite side. This seriously affected the formation of a great revolutionary alliance in the whole plant.

Chairman Mao taught us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature of controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression."

A handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in the plant manipulated the conservative organizations, and regarded them as tools for their own protection. We were of the opinion that the mistakes of the conservative organizations must be thoroughly exposed, criticized and repudiated. However, because the masses of the conservative organizations had been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, their contradiction with the proletarian revolutionaries belonged to contradictions among the people. They were our class brothers, and they warmly cherished Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. On the basis of the guideline of "unity/criticism/unity," we should show deep class affection for these class brothers who had taken the wrong side and had gone astray for the time being in the great cultural revolution. Through conducting painstaking and delicate politico-ideological work, we should enlighten their class consciousness and help them return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, but should not strike blows at them or oust them just because they had made mistakes.

But some proletarian revolutionaries failed to understand this view of ours at first, and they even alleged that we were in favor of "reconciliation" and "compromise." The chief reason was that because they had been persecuted, encircled and attacked and struggled against by the bourgeois reactionary line on many occasions in the past, for a time they were unable to see the difference between the masses of the conservative organizations and the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party who manipulated such conservative organizations. They also adopted an antagonistic attitude toward the deceived masses. This mentality of theirs was entirely understandable.

In order to handle correctly the contradiction between the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the conservative organizations, such antagonism must first of all be eliminated. This required us to make a success of our work with the proletarian revolutionaries because now that theirs was the organization in power, they formed the principal aspect of the contradiction, and every utterance or deed of theirs would affect the masses of the

conservative organizations to some extent. If the proletarian revolutionaries did not settle this question ideologically, they could not make a success of politico-ideological work for the masses of the conservative organizations, and unite the great majority of the masses.

In light of the situation of the struggle between the two lines in the plant, we were full of enthusiasm, and we creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings together with the proletarian revolutionaries. When any question arose, we look for the answer from Chairman Mao's writings together with the revolutionary masses.

We studied together with the proletarian revolutionaries Chairman Mao's illustrious article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." We strictly differentiated the two kinds of contradiction of different character and correctly handled contradictions among the people.

The great majority of the proletarian revolutionaries in the plant are from poor and lower middle peasant families. Some of them once worked as hired farmhands and led the life of a beggar. They wept bitterly when they talked about the wicked old society. Through conducting class education, we helped them understand that the great majority of the comrades in the conservative organizations were ordinary workers and their own class brothers. They stood on the wrong side in the great cultural revolution because they had momentarily been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line and fallen prey to a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. As the contradiction between the revolutionaries and the deceived masses came under contradictions among the people, it should be dealt with according to Chairman Mao's directive concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people.

The proletarian revolutionaries gradually changed their attitude and they said: "When our own class brothers have swallowed a few mouthfuls of water in the stormy class struggle, we should give them a hand, and should never press them down."

Meanwhile, in view of the fact that some comrades' sometimes did not carry out work according to party policies in the class struggle and gave no thought to the living ideas of struggle strategy, we also studied together with them Chairman Mao's directive that "policy and tactics are the life of the party." By way of study and practice, we made them understand that they must carry out work according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the general and specific policies of the party before they could make a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

They have rectified the erroneous ideas that "so long as we dare to blaze trails we can make a success of the revolution" and that "so long as our general orientation is correct, it does not matter for us to make some mistakes." They have come to learn that should they blaze trails on the basis of their own feelings, they might go astray; that one can head from

one victory to another only when they do things according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung; and that making remarks to vent one's spleen is unfavorable to uniting the deceived masses and to the revolution. They have paid attention to presenting fact, appealing to reason and reasoning people into compliance, and have raised the level of the struggle.

Win Over and Unite Our Own Class Brothers

The process of our creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings together with the proletarian revolutionaries is also the process of making use of Mao Tse-tung's thought together with them to educate and win over the deceived masses.

There are but a few persons in our detachment for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is not possible to depend merely on a few persons to make a success of politico-ideological work among the masses of the conservative organizations. What is important is that the workers among the proletarian revolutionaries should be aroused to work together with us. They work together, study together and live together with the masses of the conservative organizations, and their understanding of the living thought of each person is of greater advantage to shooting the arrow of ideological work at the target. In this way, the working masses also can be helped to make creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings in a better way in actual struggle and the thought of Mao Tse-tung strike solid root in the plant.

A variety of difficulties and twists and turns will necessarily be encountered in the process ranging from knowing a problem ideologically to solving that problem in practice. Some comrades among the proletarian revolutionaries close their ears to critical views, especially those improper ones. Very often, their conversation with the masses of the conservative organizations ends abruptly due to disagreement. The masses of the conservative organizations have various kinds of erroneous understanding which cannot be changed for the time being. We adopt a painstaking and delicate method of work, study Chairman Mao's writings together with them, and set the example ourselves. When they do a good job, we opportunely help them sum up and popularize their experience and arouse everybody to carry out ideological work.

The reason that the masses of the conservative organizations refuse to change their way of thinking is that they are deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line and they fail to see clearly the general orientation of the struggle. Instead of casting their eyes on the essence or mainstream of a question, they lay hold of and cling to some improper statements and deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries. In view of this, we stand with the Red Rebels and use a host of facts to expose thoroughly the offenses of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, and criticize and repudiate the danger of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Meanwhile, we make use of various means to study together with the masses of the conservative organizations Chairman Mao's directives on clearly distinguishing the two kinds of contradiction of different character. We help them understand that the contradiction between them and a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, while the contradiction between them and the proletarian revolutionaries is one among the people. They have been poisoned by "self-cultivation" and fooled by those in authority taking the capitalist road, and have gone astray from the general orientation of the struggle. Now, they should turn their heads and direct the spearhead of struggle at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, but should not find fault with some improper statements and deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries.

At the same time, the proletarian revolutionaries threw open the door to rectification, and openly rectified whatever work that had not been carried out according to policies in the past. When some workers among the proletarian revolutionaries chatted with the deceived class brothers and told their sad stories in the old society, they embraced each other and wept bitterly saying: "We are two gourds of bitterness growing on the same vine, but the bourgeois reactionary line has separated us from each other. Now we must unite and make revolution!"

Some of the masses in the conservative organizations have fallen prey to the pernicious influence of the reactionary "pedigree theory," and they describe all workers of undesirable family background and those who have committed mistakes as "monsters and demons." Together with the proletarian revolutionaries, we propagate Chairman Mao's class line, and help these comrades understand that while they should pay great attention to class origin, they also should not lay sole emphasis on origin. Youths from families of exploiting classes should be differentiated from elements of exploiting classes. They should be welcomed to join the revolution and helped to reform themselves in the revolutionary struggle. We should not discriminate against them, edge them out, or forbid them to make revolution. As to the workers who have committed mistakes, so long as they are willing to correct their mistakes, we should support their revolutionary actions.

Meanwhile, the proletarian revolutionaries have also clarified a host of facts through conducting conversational activities on a wide front. Some revolutionary comrades who have known persecution proceed from general interests and take the initiative to win over the deceived masses who had encircled and attacked them in the past.

There is a young factory girl who was by origin an urban pauper and had led the life of a beggar. During the great cultural revolution, because she fought firmly against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant, she was slandered as one of capitalist origin, coming under the category of "monsters and demons." Some of the masses who did not understand the true situation encircled and attacked her and struggled

against her. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, this young factory girl patiently worked to win over the masses of the conservative organizations one by one. She helped some deceived comrades to sharpen their eyes and see through the conspiracies and tricks of the class enemies.

Some of the masses in the conservative organizations have gone astray in the movement because they put self-interest above everything else. Some individuals with an eye on personal advancement have also served as the pawns of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. In view of this, we study the "three old articles" together with the masses of the conservative organizations and helped them make an ideological examination of the root cause of their mistakes and overcome self-interest in their minds. The Red Rebels also use a host of facts to expose the criminal activities of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant to carry out capitalist restoration there. They point out that should this road be taken, the plant and the country would change political color.

The masses of the conservative organizations begin to see that the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the plant are the sworn enemies of the working class. Confronted by a powerful enemy, we must clearly distinguish the enemy from ourselves, fight fiercely against self-interest, and become proletarian revolutionaries. Some persons suddenly saw light and said: "But for the great cultural revolution, we really would have slipped into the quagmire of revisionism without our knowing it."

To be sure, the resistance to our endeavor to make the masses who have taken the wrong side return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is by no means small. When some of the masses begin to see their own mistakes, some other people will exert pressure on them, denounce them as "traitors" and instigate their family dependents to drag their legs from behind. Some are ill affected. We actively educate and patiently wait for those who have been poisoned more deeply by the bourgeois reactionary line. With an eye on these living ideas, we study the pertinent quotations from Chairman Mao together with them, and help them raise their understanding. As regards those who have changed, the proletarian revolutionaries express their warm welcome through wall posters and broadcasts. Because of this, quite a number of the deceived masses have announced their decision to withdraw from the conservative organizations, firmly stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and closely follow Chairman Mao to make revolution.

Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Red Rebels have quickly grown up in struggle. They set strict requirements for themselves in the politico-ideological sphere and in work. They eradicate self-interest to make way for public interest, and are impartial and unselfish. The revolutionaries take the lead in criticizing those comrades among the Red Rebels who do not abide by labor discipline, and they also cite the good persons among the masses of the conservative organizations and their good deeds in

production and work. Under the banner of "grasping the revolution and stimulating production," they strengthen their unity with the deceived masses, and make joint effort with them to bring success to production. Simultaneously with this, they also show concern for the livelihood of the deceived class brothers.

There was a worker belonging to a conservative organization who was sick and was sent to hospital. Because it was necessary to perform an operation on him, many persons among the Red Rebels went to the hospital of their own accord to donate their blood. That worker was so moved that warm tears ran down his face. This case has also educated the broad masses of the whole plant, and is of assistance to eliminating antagonism among the masses.

* * *

Comrade Lin Piao, the closest comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, pointed out: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the guiding principle for all kinds of work in the whole party, the whole army and the whole country." In accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's directive, we used Chairman Mao's writings as weapon to differentiate and support the proletarian revolutionaries and educate the deceived working masses in the North China Metal Structure Plant, and have reaped prompt results in this regard. As a result of the efforts of revolutionary masses in the plant and of our work, the conservative organizations have disintegrated, and the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries have grown in size and strength, and gained absolute dominance. At present, the revolutionary situation is very favorable, and production is rising continuously in the whole plant.

When we left the plant, the workers said: "Of all kinds of support and assistance, your bringing us the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the greatest form of support and assistance." They also said: "You have given us assistance which is fundamental and hits the mark." These appraisals of the working comrades give us greater faith in the boundless power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We shall even more steadfastly hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all kinds of work, and use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide every action of ours.

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MAKE A STRICT DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO DIFFERENT TYPES
OF CONTRADICTIONS, CORRECTLY HANDLE THE DECEIVED MASSES

Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Committee of the Cultural Work Regiment of the Political Department of the Air Force of PLA published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 49-52./

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," the illustrious work of our great leader Chairman Mao, has scientifically summed up the experiences and lessons gained and learned in the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, and developed with genius Marxist-Leninist materialistic dialectics, the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. It is a program document for guiding the proletariat to carry the socialist revolution through to the end after seizing political power.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, this great work is the most powerful weapon for guiding us to see clearly the general orientation, distinguish the enemies from ourselves, unite the great majority, arouse all positive elements, and deal blows at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

We proletarian revolutionaries of the Cultural Work Regiment of the Political Department of the Air Force have launched a resolute struggle against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party by following the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao in this work, studying, practicing and summing up things in struggle, and using the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to differentiate strictly the two different types of contradictions and lay a firm grip on the general orientation of the struggle.

Meanwhile, through launching a powerful political offensive and carrying out painstaking politico-ideological work, we have won over, educated and united the great majority of the deceived masses of the conservative

organizations, brought into being the great revolutionary alliance, seized back the party, government, financial and cultural powers from the hands of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, and built a revolutionary committee with revolutionary representative and proletarian authority according to the revolutionary principle of "three-way alliance."

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution of our regiment is advancing in triumph along the navigation route opened up by Chairman Mao.

I

Chairman Mao taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The contradictions between a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party and us are contradictions between the enemies and ourselves, while more than 95 percent of the masses and the cadres are our comrades and friends. The contradictions between the deceived broad masses of the conservative organizations and us come under contradictions among the people. They are two different types of contradictions.

Proletarian revolutionaries must firmly bear in mind what has been pointed out in the Sixteen-Point Decision: "The main target of the present movement is those within the party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." "Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people."

Although those among the masses who have been deceived have joined the wrong ranks and done wrong things in the great cultural revolution movement, yet they are also the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. While we have been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line, they also have been victimized by the bourgeois reactionary line. We can never direct the spearhead of struggle at them and handle them with the means which we use to handle the enemies. According to the principle that there is no precedence in revolution, we must be sympathetic to them, take good care of them, show concern for them, and patiently help them return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Only in this way can the great revolutionary alliance be brought into being to form a mailed fist which hits hard at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

In order to achieve the object of waging struggle against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party and at the same time educating the deceived masses, it is necessary to present facts, state reasons, persist in struggle by reasoning and oppose struggle by force

or coercion. As proletarian revolutionaries, the truth is in our hands, and it is entirely possible for us to overcome the enemies with struggle by reasoning. In order to present facts and state reasons, it is necessary to lay hold of factual data and carry out an abundance of arduous investigation and research work.

During the days we were persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line, the young fighters of the revolutionary rebel detachment, with a red heart cherishing boundless fervent love for Chairman Mao, often had to break away from a siege through struggle and from those who shadowed them. They had to brave the cold and hunger, and walk several tens of li to carry out painstaking investigation and study so as to lay hold of the criminal deeds of a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party. After the revolutionary rebel detachment exposed the crimes of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party with an abundance of facts, the latter were thrown into consternation. Many among the deceived masses were awakened. They clearly saw the general orientation and pulled out from the conservative organizations.

Within the short course of one month, our revolutionary rebel detachment, only 20 persons strong, armed itself with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly adhered to the method of presenting facts and stating reasons, made use of wall posters and personal chats to launch a political offensive, dragged out a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party, won over, educated and united the great majority of the deceived masses, and expanded and strengthened the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries.

II

In work to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, the proletarian revolutionary masses must first solve the question of attitude and proceed from the desire for unity.

Because a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within our regiment carried out the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting at a great many in order to protect a handful" and incited the masses to fight against the masses and the cadres, there has been grave antagonism among the masses. After fighting our way out from the persecution of the bourgeois reactionary line and gaining predominance politically and organizationally, whether we proletarian revolutionaries can adopt a comradely attitude toward those deceived masses who had encircled and attacked us, take the initiative to draw close to them, help them and unite them so as to enable them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a stern test for the proletarian revolutionaries.

When solving this question of attitude, we must abide by Chairman Mao's teachings, lay emphasis on the general situation, and can never give any thought to personal grudges.

Chairman Mao taught us: "We not only must unite with those who agree with us, but also must be good at uniting with those who disagree with us and those who have opposed us and have been proved to be wrong by practice." There was in the band a committee member of the party branch who had once been encircled, attacked and struggled against by some of the deceived masses. After the proletarian revolutionaries recaptured power, he was elected as a member of the revolutionary committee. At that time comrades who had a part to play in encircling and attacking him felt very embarrassed. That committee member of the party branch knew that as a true proletarian revolutionary he could never take personal gratitude or grudge into consideration when dealing with those comrades. He took the initiative to chat with them, and very soon he eliminated such estrangement and paved the way for unity.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy and tactics are the life of the party." When we deal with the deceived masses, we can never replace policies with sentiments.

After we seized power, some comrades were opposed to those among the deceived masses who had dealt blows at them and they said: "Although you had struggled against me in the past, I am not going to struggle against you today, but you will have no part to play in the great revolutionary alliance." They also said: "Our unit is unusual and is unable to unite more than 95 percent." In light of these living ideas, through launching a rectification campaign we seriously studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."

We all know that in order to bring the great revolutionary alliance into being, the principal responsibility rests on the shoulders of us proletarian revolutionaries. We can never replace policies with sentiments and can never adopt a tooth-for-tooth attitude toward our class brothers. If we only think of venting one's spleen and do not try to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, we would drive our own comrades to the enemy side and would be fooled by the class enemy.

Through study, we proletarian revolutionaries raised our policy level, bore the revolution in mind, paid attention to the whole situation, and acted firmly according to the policies of the party. Many comrades who had pulled out from the conservative organizations said: "We have all the time kept you under observation to see what policy you adopt toward us and whether the alliance is genuine or phoney. As we see now, you genuinely act according to the policies of the party and are proletarian revolutionaries."

The practice of struggle tells us that in carrying out work, whatever it is, we must act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and the policies of the party. Once Chairman Mao's instructions are understood, they must be firmly carried out, and even those which are not understood for the time being must also be firmly carried out so that we may gradually understand them in the course of executing them.

III

Chairman Mao taught us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In order to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses, it is necessary to persist in the four firsts, carry out painstaking politico-ideological work, and patiently help them.

When carrying out politico-ideological work, we must be good at taking a firm hold of living ideas and giving the right remedy. Among a part of the deceived masses, the ideological burden is very heavy. Especially in the case of some older comrades, because they stood on the wrong side during the crucial moment of the great cultural revolution notwithstanding their having been educated by the party over a number of years, they feel that they are unable to face the party, and are unwilling to go out and meet other comrades. These comrades feel the burden and pressure because they have come to know their mistakes. At such a time, they can never be required to "reflect on one's misdeeds in private," much less to allow them to "ask for pardon." Instead, they should be encouraged to switch their orientation, actively throw themselves into battle, and educate themselves in struggle. In this way, these comrades will quickly part with their ideological burden and hit back at the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party.

After the collapse of the conservative organization in our regiment, a part of the masses were slow in turning around. Although they had severed relations with the conservative organization, yet they were still estranged from the proletarian revolutionaries. In light of this situation, we carefully studied things, located the crux of the problem, and untied the ideological knot of these comrades.

After his withdrawal from the conservative organization, a comrade was in a low mood. He contacted neither the conservative organization nor the revolutionary rebel detachment. During the great cultural revolution, this comrade all along wanted to play an active part in the movement. Because of his low politico-ideological level and lack of class viewpoint, he joined the conservative organization. After the collapse of the conservative organizations, he still felt ill-affected toward those comrades of the revolutionary organization. In light of his ideological condition, we patiently helped him see clearly the misdeeds which a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party made use of the conservative organizations to carry out. We then enlightened him with the miserable past and the happy present, and helped this comrade who was a cowboy by origin quickly to raise his awakening and change his stand.

Very often, there also will be reversals in work to unite and win over the masses. Some comrades originally shared our viewpoint. After the conservative organization seized power, they joined that organization. When the

revolutionary rebel detachment fought its way out, they once again closed ranks with that detachment, but very soon they fell for the conservative organization again. Some comrades among us had an antipathy to these persons, thinking that they were opportunistic and waving with the wind and could not be trusted. After due study, we were of the opinion that a number of causes were responsible for this phenomenon. After the proletarian revolutionaries rose on their feet, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the party still wanted to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses in the conservative organization so as to protect themselves. They spread rumors, created confusion, and enhanced the antagonistic feelings of the deceived masses toward us. Some persons fooled by the bad persons or with selfish ends wavered. Among them only a few were opportunists, but for the overwhelming majority of the comrades, the question was one of recognition. We should contact such comrades with greater warmth, expose the plots and tricks of the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road, help them detect the enemy and draw a dividing line with that handful of persons. Before they were awakened, we should wait with patience. Facts showed that so long as we gave them genuine assistance, they would learn lessons in the struggle, see the orientation and finally stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao said: "Today, the need of revolution to launch an attack against counterrevolution lies in organizing millions of the people and mobilizing a mighty revolutionary army." The great proletarian cultural revolution is the revolutionary movement of the masses, and only through arousing the revolutionary activism of the broad masses can the great proletarian cultural revolution be triumphantly carried through to the end. We should have political faith in those comrades who have been deceived but have since rectified or are in the course of rectifying their mistakes. We should boldly make use of them by allocating them work and tasks. Some of them have become members of leading groups in branches of the regiment. Many comrades have played a useful role in the struggle after their withdrawal from the conservative organization.

We are deeply aware that in the present great proletarian cultural revolution every victory scored by us is a victory for the great, invincible and boundlessly brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung. At the same time, we also deeply feel that the victory we have scored at the moment is but the first step in the long march, and that work will be much harder in the future. We have not studied Chairman Mao's writings as we should and have not done enough to bring them into "application." There are still quite a number of shortcomings in our work to win over, educate and unite the deceived masses.

Today, as we commemorate the 10th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," we are resolved to hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, make further effort in the creative study and application of this illustrious article of Chairman Mao's, follow his teachings, make a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions, correctly handle contradictions among the people, further unite the great majority, closely integrate

the large-scale criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the party with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in this unit, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

BE FOREVER LOYAL TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY LINE

/Following is a translation of an article by Li Shui-ch'ing (2621 3055 3237) and Ch'en Chi-te (7115 4949 1795), Responsible Persons of a Certain PLA Unit, published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 53-59./

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, has for the past year won world-shaking, splendid victories, with the result that a momentous change has taken place in the political life and social aspect of our country. In this great struggle, inspired by Chairman Mao's great call and under the direct leadership of Vice Chairman Lin, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has unwaveringly taken the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, actively supporting the broad revolutionary masses, striving to fulfill such tasks as supporting the Left, aiding industry and agriculture, exercising military control and carrying out military training. At the same time, the vast masses of cadres and fighters have also been tempered and tested.

Sharing the Revolutionaries' Urgent Desire and Helping to Meet Their Needs

At a crucial moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution entered into the stage of struggle of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, Chairman Mao issued to the People's Liberation Army a great call to support the Leftists. By doing so he has shown the greatest trust in our army, the greatest concern for it, and given it the greatest encouragement. This is also the greatest test to our army. Before taking on the task of supporting the Left and particularly in the early period of the great cultural revolution, we had no understanding of this unprecedented great revolutionary movement or of a series of theories, lines and principles and policies Chairman Mao propounded for the great proletarian cultural revolution. As a result, we failed to keep abreast of the situation. However, we cherished a firm faith -- the firm faith in the wisdom and greatness of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, in the incomparable correctness of Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line, and in the inevitability of victory if we advanced along the direction charted by Chairman Mao. On some questions, due to our low level, we were unable to catch up with Chairman Mao's thought and more often than not we were unable to comprehend at once the spirit of his directives. But then our attitude was this: The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul commanding the whole party, the whole army and the whole country, and it is important that we seriously study and deeply understand it, and closely follow Chairman Mao. Whether we understand them or not, we must resolutely support and carry out his directives and further appreciate them in the course of practice. Only thus can we remain clear-headed and keep firmly to the proletarian stand in the course of the complicated class struggle. Therefore, after the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we with the problem in mind, repeatedly and seriously studied Chairman Mao's works and relevant directives, corrected our understanding, raised our thinking, and resolutely took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle of the counterrevolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is likewise aimed at preserving their political power." The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great mass movement of revolution aimed at preventing capitalist restoration carried out under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. The focus of struggle is still the question of political power. In the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries have risen to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and seize their power. This rebellion is justified and power has been well seized! In our work of supporting the Left, the first thing is to give resolute support to the broad masses of the Leftists in all those units where power has to be seized so that they will unite together to seize power. Where power has been seized, we will firmly support them in exercising power well. The good or bad results of the work of supporting the Left primarily depends on whether we truly support them to seize and exercise power in the proper manner.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a vigorous revolutionary mass movement. We have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left we must with resolve implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support the revolutionary mass movement, resolutely trust the masses, rely on them, mobilize them freely, and allow them to educate and liberate themselves. No work can be done well if we do the work that should be done by others and if we just arbitrate in disputes arising from among the masses. Therefore, we must constantly guide the revolutionary masses to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and encourage them to contribute ideas, devise methods, engage in independent thinking, and run their own houses. Sometimes, this or that shortcoming may appear in the opinions and practices of the masses, yet, barring any mistake of principle, we must support the creative spirit of the masses and allow them to do what they want to do.

With regard to those masses in the conservative organizations who have been hoodwinked, we must likewise believe that once they understand the truth of things, they will awaken and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Hence, we should regard the calls by members of the conservative organizations as an opportunity to do mass work among them. Whether they come individually or in groups, we should welcome them, sincerely explain the truth to them, educate them in the struggle between two lines, and encourage them to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Vice Chairman Lin has pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part of the revolution. At the same time, we must continue to regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. In carrying out revolution, we must revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot carry out this revolution successfully." To fulfill the task of supporting the Left victoriously, we must continue to carry out a self-revolution, go into the midst of the masses, go into the thick of struggle, and transform our subjective world while transforming the objective world. Before taking part in supporting the Left, some comrades, although they too understood that "revolution is violence, a violent action by which one class overthrows another," were somewhat surprised by the raging revolutionary storm. They were unaccustomed to the revolutionary actions of the young Red Guard fighters. However, when they came into contact with the masses, took part in practical struggle, studied and applied Chairman Mao's works creatively and with the problems encountered in the struggle between the two lines in mind, and clarified their own thinking, a basic change took place in their sentiments toward the revolutionary masses. They were pleased by the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses, loved what they loved, hated what they hated, shared their worries, and helped them in meeting their needs. They staunchly fought and won alongside the revolutionary masses. The practice of struggle for the past months has given the best training and the best test to every comrade who supported the Left. We have deeply felt that class struggle is the best classroom and the best teacher of the revolutionary masses. With such a big classroom and such a teacher, we shall make our thoughts even redder and our work even more successful.

To Support the Revolutionary Left, We Must Take a Firm Stand and Hoist a Clear-Cut Banner

Chairman Mao teaches us: "'One must dare to suffer a thousand cuts and dare to unhorse the emperor.' When fighting for socialism and communism, we must possess such fearless spirit." In the course of the struggle between two classes and two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether one dares to pur courage to the core, come forward bravely to take a firm stand and hoist a clear-cut banner, and unwaveringly take the side of the masses of the Left and fully support them, is a question of whether or not we dare to make revolution. The People's Liberation Army is the strong shield for the proletarian revolutionaries. To support the revolutionary Left, we ourselves must be staunch revolutionary Leftists.

Fearlessness derives from selflessness. Only when we are infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will we pledge to defend it to the death. For the past several months the thought of Mao Tse-tung has given us courage and strength, enabling us to stand firm and preserve the militant stance of proletarian revolutionaries in the work of supporting the Left as well as in the strikingly violent storm of class struggle.

First, fear no risks and dare to support.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle between the attempt to restore capitalism and the effort to thwart this attempt, carried out under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. It is a struggle between the attempt of the bourgeoisie to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and the effort of the proletariat to consolidate proletarian dictatorship. In this life-and-death class struggle, there have to be many reverses and twists and turns, and this or that risk will have to be taken.

On 22 January this year, Tsingtao's proletarian revolutionaries closed their ranks and, with the participation of Comrade Wang Hsiao-yu, a revolutionary leading cadre and under his leadership, seized the party, government, financial and cultural powers of Tsingtao city from the hands of the small handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council. This was an encouraging, big and joyful event, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. However, the small handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, though overthrown, were not reconciled to their defeat. Immediately after they had calmed down, they colluded with the ghosts and monsters and all reactionary forces in society, cheated and hoodwinked some masses ignorant of the truth, and stirred up an adverse current for counterseizure of power on the city-wide scale. They went to the extreme in creating lies and slanders, directing the spearhead of their attack at the revolutionary leading cadres who took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Moreover, they vainly attempted to strangle the tools of public opinion of proletarian dictatorship, time and time again inciting the masses who did not know the truth to besiege and attack the reborn "Tsingtao Jih-pao" which published the pronouncement on the 22 January seizure of power and to obstruct the-normal publication of the paper. They also threatened to destroy the newspaper office. In these activities, some mass organizations who at first joined the rebellion participated, and this added to the complexity of the situation. At such a crucial moment of violent struggle, should we adopt a wait-and-see attitude, hesitate, and sit idly watching the proletarian revolutionaries being subject to pressure? Or should we be brave in taking the risks and take the initiative to support the proletarian revolutionaries? Out of a high sense of responsibility toward the proletarian revolutionary cause, we immediately decided to act and explicitly expressed our firm support for the 22 January seizure of power.

That we decidedly sided with the revolutionary Leftists and resolutely supported them greatly stimulated the fighting will of the proletarian revolutionaries, and received their enthusiastic welcome and support. But the class enemy highly resented us. They again instigated some hoodwinked masses to turn the spearhead of attack against the leadership organs of our armed forces in a vain bid to shake our support for the proletarian revolutionaries. However, they did not succeed in their sinister scheme. "To be opposed by the enemy is not a bad but a good thing." This teaching of Chairman Mao we shall never forget.

Supporting the revolutionary Left involves a sharp and complicated class struggle, which will surely meet with the interference, resistance and opposition from the class enemy and conservative forces. No matter where such pressure comes from and what form it assumes, its essence is a reflection of class struggle. For the past months we have not yielded, nor have we been shaken, by such pressure; instead, we have, in a fighting stance, defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and unswervingly supported and protected the proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao and other areas.

Looking back to the work of supporting the Left over several months, we understand that if we fear to take risks, we cannot make revolution, and that if we are to make revolution we cannot fear to take risks. Proletarian revolutionary fighters who are loyal to the thought of Mao Tse-tung should advance against the wind and waves of the class struggle!

Second, welcome criticism and correct mistakes, if any.

In the work of supporting the Left, whether we will constantly and modestly listen to the opinions and criticism of the masses is a question of mass viewpoint, a question of basic stand and attitude toward the masses. In view of the masses of the people's infinite love for and trust in our army, there is a special need for us to constantly educate the cadres who are carrying out the task of "three branches" and "two armies" to pay close attention to this question. The masses dare to criticize us because they are concerned about us and love us. This is a good thing. In dealing with the criticism originating from the masses, our attitude is this: that "anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them." When listening to criticisms and opinions of various kinds, we should observe the following points: (1) On any occasion, regardless of the number of people, whether inside or outside a conference, and whether it is a big or small conference, we should warmly welcome any criticisms and opinions. (2) We should calmly listen to anyone, no matter what his attitude is, whether he speaks politely or rudely, and whether he criticizes us lightly or severely. (3) Regardless of the language used, the nature of the suggestions, and no matter whether the problems involved are many or few, we must see that "those who speak commit no crime, so that those who listen shall take warning." (4) We should seriously listen to anyone, whether he speaks to us face to face or makes a suggestion through someone else, and whether he sends us a letter or a note.

We must modestly accept the opinions and criticisms of the masses. First of all, the leadership must take the lead and set an example. The principal responsible official of our armed forces who serves on the Tsingtao Municipal Revolutionary Committee adheres steadfastly to Chairman Mao's teaching of "from the masses and to the masses" and "summing up the opinions of the masses and sending them back the decisions drawn up on the basis of these opinions for implementation." Humbly learning from the masses, he plays a good exemplary role among the whole body of personnel in supporting the Left.

When the masses call on us and criticize us, we should warmly receive them and humbly listen to them. When the masses do not call on us, we should go out and call on them on our own initiative. A unit of ours stationed in the city's suburbs, in supporting the Left, makes use of such means as holding mass meetings, forums, and heart-to-heart conferences, and has at one time and another heard more than 70 representatives from 15 revolutionary mass organizations. In addition, members of the unit called on the masses individually on more than 140 occasions to get their opinions about the work of supporting the Left.

While modestly listening to the masses' criticisms regularly, we have also continued to carry out rectification and training and develop self-criticism. From April up to now, we have called a rectification and training session every month for those cadres participating in the work of "three branches" and "two armies." We have developed a mass movement of criticism and self-criticism, exposed our ideas, put problems on the table, summed up experience, and learned the lessons. In this way, every time this is done, our consciousness is raised one step higher and our work advances also by one step.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "With this Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we are able to get rid of undesirable styles of work and preserve a fine style of work." The aim of listening to the masses' criticism and developing self-criticism is to discover and correct mistakes in good time. In making revolution, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. In this connection, our attitude is: Admit mistakes and correct them. Some personnel of our units supported the conservatives, but once the masses criticized them and pointed out their mistakes and clarified the truth of the matter, they promptly admitted their mistakes publicly, conducted a thoroughgoing investigation, and worked to mend their ways. In that way, it is not difficult to develop our work, which can be done with still better results. Our prestige will not be lower but higher.

In Supporting the Revolutionary Left, the Most Fundamental Thing Is to Arm the Broad Masses of the Left With the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

Vice Chairman Lin says: "It is necessary that, through creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, we instil into the minds of the workers and peasants the thought of Chairman Mao. Only by doing so can we change

the spiritual aspect of the laboring people and turn the spiritual force into a huge material force." The work of supporting the Left is rich and varied in content, but the most important and basic thing is to support the Left politically and ideologically, to use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to arm the broad revolutionary masses and advance the revolutionization of man's thinking. For this reason, it is necessary that the creative study and application of Chairman Mao must go hand in hand with the work of supporting the Left.

First, we must use Chairman Mao's theory on making revolution under proletarian dictatorship to arm the revolutionary masses, and help them to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and understand that under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the principal target of the revolution is the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and we must firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle.

After the proletarian revolutionaries of Tsingtao city had seized power, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road did not reconcile themselves to defeat but resorted to all ways to disrupt our front, undermine the unity of revolutionary masses, and shift the general orientation of struggle. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we then helped the revolutionary masses to discern the plots of these people in time and to thoroughly expose and struggle against them. At the same time, we enlightened and helped the hoodwinked masses, raised their understanding, and helped them learn the lessons and draw a line of distinction with the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

From the seizure of power to the application of power, a change has taken place in the status of the proletarian revolutionaries. In the revolutionary organizations, some people entertained under varying degrees various nonproletarian ideas, such as individualism, the "limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, the "mountain stronghold" mentality, and anarchism. All of these ideas hindered the formation of the grand revolutionary alliance, hindered the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, hampered the large-scale criticism against the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and undermined the struggle, criticism and reform in the local areas and units. In the light of the development of the situation and in view of the living ideas of the broad masses, we organized the masses to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's relevant works and important articles carried in Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao, thereby enabling the proletarian revolutionaries to heighten their awareness and grasp tightly the general orientation of the struggle.

In order to direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and make success of struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units, we have successively convened four city-wide mass meetings in the Tsingtao area, repeatedly publicized and grasped the principal contradiction, and mastered the general orientation of the struggle. In addition, we helped all revolutionary organizations to

develop rectification and studies. Now, the situation of Tsinghao is getting better and better. An upsurge has appeared in the mass large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Many units, through large-scale criticism and struggle, have realized a grand revolutionary alliance and achieved a double victory in revolution and production.

Second, applying Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" as a sharp ideological weapon, we must help the proletarian revolutionaries to deal correctly with the hoodwinked masses and strive to unite with the majority of the masses.

After the proletarian revolutionaries in the areas where we stay had seized power, some comrades adopted a wrong attitude toward the hoodwinked masses, calling them "black veteran royalists" and describing their houses as "dens of old royalists." Some people said: "They have oppressed us for such a long time in the past. We must not treat them lightly today." When some hoodwinked masses surrendered to the proletarian revolutionaries, some people nevertheless were blind to their awakening and change, accusing them of "attempting to sneak in" or "salvaging a straw." In view of these problems, together with the proletarian revolutionaries we studied Chairman Mao's teaching of strictly distinguishing between and correctly dealing with contradictions of two different types of contradictions, so that they realized gradually that those masses who were cheated into joining the royalist organizations desired revolution. They had joined the wrong groups and had been the victims of the handful of the party power holders taking the capitalist road. We must therefore unite with them, help them, and win them over with strong class sentiments.

In order to strive to unite with the majority of the masses, we and the proletarian revolutionaries studied Chairman Mao's works with the hoodwinked masses. We also labored and talked with them intimately. The proletarian revolutionaries told them about their own experience of revolutionary rebellion and helped them summarize lessons. They also affirmed any progress, however insignificant, made by the hoodwinked masses, and welcome them when they too rise in rebellion. In the meantime, we mobilized the broad masses to struggle fiercely against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, expose and indict their crime of instigating the conservative organizations to incite the masses to struggle against each other, thus speeding up the awakening of the masses of the conservative organizations. Vast numbers of hoodwinked masses withdrew from the conservative organizations and joined the revolutionary organizations. They turned around and rebelled against the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Third, we also applied Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and such illustrious articles as "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" to help the revolutionary masses to destroy self-interest, foster devotion to public interest, and transform their world outlook.

The great proletarian cultural revolution demands of each and every revolutionary to make revolution on two fronts simultaneously, namely, the revolution on the front of transformation of the objective world and the revolution on the front of transformation of the subjective world. Only by thoroughly revolutionizing self-interest in one's mind can we successfully discharge the historical task of transforming the objective world. We cannot be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries if we have only the courage to rebel against the power holders taking the capitalist but not the determination to seize power from the self-interest in our heads. To rebel against the self-interest in one's head, one must divide oneself into two, that is, one must see oneself not only as the motive power of the revolution but also as the target of the revolution. Should one see oneself only as the motive power of the revolution but not as a target of the revolution and thus relax one's thought remolding, then one not only cannot be the motive power of the revolution, but there is the danger of turning oneself into an obstacle to the revolution. Just as a responsible person of a Leftist organization has said, "in the sharp struggle between the two lines, we must not hide the self-interest in our minds just as Mr. Tung Kuo hides his wolf in a fable". Otherwise, we would surely be destroyed by self-interest and betray Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

To guide the revolutionary Leftists to clarify the following two problems will be of advantage not only to correctly understanding ourselves but also to raising our revolutionary consciousness. One is the problem of what we should do both before and after seizure of power. Before seizure of power, under the persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line, we are fearless fighters; after the seizure of power, since we have assumed power, we would become complacent and conceited if our revolutionary consciousness is low. In that case, we would become "self-important," chase after fame, authority and profits, divorce ourselves from the masses, and cease to seek progress. The other is the problem of the relationship between the point of departure and the point of destination. In the preceding stage of the revolution, we had made a good start by defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and marched ahead valiantly. However, the class struggle is a prolonged one with its twists and turns. The duty is heavy and the journey is long. We cannot finish our task unless we always obey Chairman Mao's orders and serve the people completely and thoroughly.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" point out that the core of the world outlook is the problem of "for whom." When we solve the problem of why we are living, we shall acquire the sharpest weapon for destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest and transforming the world outlook. The problems solved by these splendid works are not only basic problems of transformation of world outlook but also practical problems which we often encounter. We must study these works every day and wage a "war of liberation" to free ourselves from self-interest. We must act honestly and regard ourselves as targets of the revolution. Starting from the very beginning, we should study these works carefully and examine our thoughts in the context of the teachings

contained in these works. In that way we shall be able to gain fresh knowledge as we go on learning and apply what we have learned with good results. We must not blindly be complacent with the fact that "we are pathbreakers, are revolutionary, and have given expression to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." Otherwise, we shall not be able to digest what we read, nor shall we be able to appreciate the spirit and substance of what we read.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" are from beginning to end distinguished by the glorious idea of wholehearted service to the people. It is necessary to stress that we study them with an abundance of class sentiments. Only when we love the people can we comprehend these works, appreciate them deeply, and apply them. Only when we love the people can we feel the weight of every word and sentence. In the over-all process of study, we must constantly "think of the people's interest and of the sufferings of the majority of the people." Having done this, we shall arouse class sentiments in ourselves, deepen our understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and link it to our problems. Secondly, we must nurse a deep class hatred against self-interest, which we cannot destroy until we hate it. Similarly, only when we love public interest can we foster devotion to it. In order to increase hatred against self-interest, in some schools, rural areas, and factories we carried out the activities of "three-recollection" (recollecting the party history, the history of one's family, and the history of the individual). As a result, the masses were enabled to see that our party history is a history of struggle against all kinds of mistaken lines by the proletarian revolutionary line which Chairman Mao represents, that our family histories are histories of blood and tears under the system of private ownership but are histories of happiness under the system of public ownership, and that the history of our personal progress is a history of struggle of public interest against private interest. The party history, the family history, and the history of the individual are full of struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. In the final analysis, they are struggles between the public and private interests. Through "three-recollection," we aroused the class sentiments in the broad masses and hardened our determination to fight self-interest.

For the last few months, thanks to the fact that the broad masses of cadres and fighters participating in the work of supporting the Left cherish unbounded loyalty to Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung and, in the light of the development of the situation of struggle and in the contest of ideological realities of the revolutionary masses, have intensively grasped creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as the most basic link, the fighting power of the revolutionary mass organizations has been effectively raised and the revolutionary character, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline on the part of the broad masses have been strengthened. This has promoted the large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and the struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units. At the same time, in the course of the winds and storms of the class struggle we ourselves have been educated, tempered and improved.

Chairman Mao recently again issued a great call for supporting the army and cherishing the people. Under the new situation of the revolution, this is the latest directive to our army in its work of aiding the Left, and it is the highest demand. We must forever be loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, going all out to raise the work of aiding the Left to a new level. We must resolutely fight by the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, seize new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and consolidate proletarian dictatorship.

CSO: 3530-D

CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND AND PRACTICE EXTENSIVE DEMOCRACY
UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Following is a translation of an article by Hung Hsiao-pin (3163 2556 2430) published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 60-62.

In his epoch-making work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao trenchantly explains the class nature of democracy, proletarian democratic centralism and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, between democracy and centralization, and between freedom and discipline. This is particularly significant for our correct understanding and practice of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, for grasping firmly the general orientation of struggle, for criticizing and repudiating the handful of top party people in authority taking the capitalist road, for bringing about and consolidating the grand revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination," and for victoriously fulfilling the tasks of struggle, criticism and reform.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."

Throughout the whole historical period of proletarian dictatorship, there exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle. Of course, democracy bears a class character. There is either proletarian democracy or bourgeois democracy. Above-class and abstract democracy simply does not exist.

Our democracy is proletarian democracy. That is to say, our democracy operates within the ranks of the proletariat and all the people who agree with, support and join the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. As for our class enemies who oppose socialist revolution and who are hostile to and sabotage socialist construction, we do not allow them democracy, we exercise dictatorship over them. However, the bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the handful of party in authority taking the capitalist road, do exactly the opposite. In the areas and departments in which they entrench themselves, they turn proletarian democracy into bourgeois democracy. They give democracy and freedom to the landlords and the bourgeoisie. They let loose the ghosts and monsters. They allow the poisonous weeds against the party, socialism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung to spread unchecked. But they exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution which we are now carrying is for the purpose of arousing the masses boldly to expose and overthrow the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road by applying extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will smash their bourgeois democracy and their schemes for a capitalist comeback, and consolidate and strengthen proletarian democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Those who demand freedom and democracy in the abstract regard democracy as an end and not a means. Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base." We must firmly remember this teaching, for it is a guide to us in correctly understanding and applying extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

What kind of a means is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is it for? Against whom is it directed? What end does it seek to achieve? Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the means for carrying out revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is used for dealing with the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and for achieving the aims of smashing these class enemies, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, defending and developing the economic base of socialism and preventing capitalist restoration. If we depart from these aims, we still depart from proletarian democracy and go astray down the path of bourgeois democracy.

We must pay constant attention to the fact that application of extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is for strengthening proletarian dictatorship and not for weakening and undermining it, for consolidating and developing the economic base of socialism and not for weakening and undermining it.

In the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether a mass organization correctly practices extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is to be judged by whether it, when applying extensive democracy, turns the spearhead of struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, whether it does so for the purpose of consolidating proletarian dictatorship and defending the economic base of socialism. This is the most basic criterion. If we depart from this criterion and fail to see the orientation and aim of struggle, we shall not be able to distinguish between big right and big wrong.

Within the ranks of the people, extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is also a means. It is precisely through the methods of extensive democracy, airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in big-character posters, that right is distinguished from wrong and contradictions among the people are correctly solved. Through these methods we are also able to expand and develop the Leftist forces, gradually unite with over 95 percent of the masses and over 95 percent of the cadres, realize a grand alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and isolate to the greatest extent and strike at the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is normal that among mass organizations and within a mass organization there should be differences of opinion and contradictions of one kind or another. These opinions and contradictions involve problems of ideology and understanding. They are contradictions among the people and should be resolved according to the formula of "unity -- criticism -- unity" and by democratic methods, that is, criticism and self-criticism as well as reasoning on the basis of facts. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." This is the only correct way for us to handle the contradictions among the people. A mass organization and the responsible persons of a mass organization, in dealing with those mass organizations which differ from them in opinion and the masses who have been cheated into joining the conservative organizations, must proceed from the desire for unity and solve the contradictions through criticism or struggle; on no account must they overcome these masses with sheer physical force. Under no circumstances must they treat the masses who have been cheated into joining the conservative organizations as enemies and direct the spearhead of struggle at them.

As responsible members of revolutionary mass organizations, and when our position has changed from that of being suppressed to that of being in power, we should pay all the more attention to the correct practice of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past we have mobilized the broad masses to apply the extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship to expose the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and seizing their power. Today, we still have to

apply extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship to thoroughly repudiate and totally discredit the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically, and to fulfill the tasks of "struggle -- criticism -- transformation" in our own units. At the same time, we should learn to practice extensive democracy in order to handle correctly contradictions among the people and controversies and differences of opinion among them. In particular, we should dare to accept criticism from the revolutionary masses, overcome our shortcomings and correct our mistakes, and make a really good job of holding and exercising power for the proletariat.

Within the ranks of the people, extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is relative to a high degree of centralization of the proletariat. Democracy and centralization are two aspects of the unity of opposites. Without extensive democracy of the proletariat, there will be no high degree of centralization of the proletariat, or vice versa.

Chairman Mao says: "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline."

Chairman Mao has also said: "This democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people."

Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his proletarian revolutionary line. When we employ extensive democracy as a means we should devote attention to defending and strengthening the proletarian centralization and must not weaken it, and we should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide all our actions and use his proletarian revolutionary line to guide our practical struggle. Only in this way can we ensure that extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out smoothly. It will be anarchism if we regard extensive democracy as an end in itself and oppose proletarian centralism. Anarchism, in essence, is bourgeois democracy and bourgeois liberalization. We must overcome this erroneous tendency before it goes too far.

Extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be combined with consciousness adherence to proletarian revolutionary discipline. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should employ extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a means of overthrowing

the slavishness peddled by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and smash the bourgeois reactionary discipline which they used to suppress the people. It is precisely because we want to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary discipline that we do this. That is why, when applying extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship, we must firmly defend and earnestly abide by proletarian revolutionary discipline. As taught by Chairman Mao, we should "enjoy broad democracy and freedom" and "at the same time keep ourselves within the bounds of socialist discipline."

The fundamental method for recognizing and practicing extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship is to make an earnest and creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," and use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to remold our world outlook, eliminate self-interest and foster utter devotion to the collective interest and promote the revolutionizing of our ideology. Only in this way can we keep firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle, bring about the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-way alliance," overthrow completely the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

CSO: 3530-D

SHANTUNG PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE'S REGULATIONS
ON CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPROVING CADRES' STYLE OF WORK

Following is a translation of an article published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, page 65.

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shantung Province is developing in depth and breadth in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and that of capitalism and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line.

In order to carry the cultural revolution through to the end, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a capitalist restoration, it is imperative to establish the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought in Shantung. All our words and deeds must be gauged by the supreme criterion of whether or not they are in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

All the members of the committee must take the lead in the study of Chairman Mao's works, and make the study of Chairman Mao's works a necessary, systematic and daily task.

It is imperative to study over and over again such great teachings of Chairman Mao's as: "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses," and "the comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."

It is imperative to practice criticism and self-criticism regularly, to revolutionize ourselves ideologically and in our work, working style and our way of life. We must remain ordinary working people at all times, resolutely oppose preferential treatment given us and any ways that divorce us from the masses.

For this purpose we prescribe the following provisions:

- (1) It is forbidden to heap praise on members of the revolutionary committee. Big-character posters and slogans praising members of the committee are forbidden. In cases where such posters and slogans are put up, efforts should be made to persuade the people to have them covered over immediately.
- (2) No member of the committee should make a public speech on behalf of the committee unless it is discussed collectively beforehand by the committee.
- (3) There should be no formal welcome or send-off and no applauding at the arrival or departure of members of the committee at mass gatherings. Without permission of the committee, its members may not be photographed or filmed.
- (4) Members of the committee must devote a definite amount of time to doing physical labor.
- (5) Members of the committee are not allowed to present gifts in their own name or accept gifts.
- (6) Generally, the names of committee members should not appear in the press. Where it is necessary for their names to be printed in a newspaper, this must be done according to the stipulations set out by the Party Central Committee.
- (7) Members of the committee should live a plain life. Extravagance is forbidden. They are not allowed to use motor cars belonging to the organization for private purposes. They should pay attention to economy when using cars on public business.
- (8) Members of the committee should set aside a certain amount of time for interviews with people and should personally deal with letters from the people.
- (9) With an attitude of willingness to be the pupils of the people, members of the committee should go among the masses regularly and call fact-finding meetings and forums to invite people's opinions and criticisms.
- (10) The Revolutionary Committee should undertake periodical rectification campaigns (once every two months or so). Some representatives of the mass organizations should be invited to participate in each rectification campaign as and when necessary.

Shangtung Provincial
Revolutionary Committee,
7 June 1967

CSO: 3530-D

COMBINE THE BIG CRITICISM WITH EACH UNIT'S STRUGGLE,
CRITICISM, AND REFORM

Following is a translation of an article by the Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 69-73./

Hung-ch'i editor's note: The experiences of the workers' revolutionary rebel team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory are very good. They firmly grasp the main direction of the struggle and closely combine the big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road with their own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform.

Experiences show that the big criticism of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can effectively move forward each unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, and the latter can bring about the fuller exposure and deeper criticism of the poisons spread on all fronts by the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In order to combine the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, we must carry out hard, penetrating, and care-demanding investigation and research. Only thus can we deeply and thoroughly criticize the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road until they are rendered repugnant, deepen the mass movement of big criticism, extensively demolish bourgeois thought, extensively build the thought of Mao Tse-tung, realize the revolutionization of thought of man, develop production, and move the socialist cause forward at flying speed.

The typical experiences provided by the workers' revolutionary rebel team of Shanghai Aimin Candy Factory have general significance. It is hoped that the proletarian revolutionaries of all units will study them seriously.

I

In the storm of the "January Revolution," the proletarian revolutionaries of our factory joined together and waged a struggle for seizing power. In mid-February, we studied the experiences of the proletarian revolutionaries of Heilungkiang and Kiangsi, and absorbed revolutionary leadership cadres into the revolutionary production committee. After that, we attended to revolution energetically and promoted production vigorously. While fighting, we also rectified our style. In early April, elections among all the revolutionary workers of the factory gave birth to a provisional power structure of revolutionary "triple combination" -- the revolutionary power committee. This created a condition which was to make possible the combination of the big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform.

How to combine the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform was a new topic. We solved the problem gradually in the course of struggle.

At the beginning, we staged a factory-wide procession and demonstration. We then called a denunciation conference and stuck many big-character posters. We denounced the heinous crimes of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. A few days later, the revolutionary workers of our factory actively plunged themselves into this movement of big criticism. After a time, however, the movement could not be deepened any more. Some workers felt that the big criticism did not have much to do with themselves. They said, "The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road is in far-away Peking. We do not know about him. How can we criticize?"

We analyzed the reasons why the big criticism could not be deepened. They were two. First, some workers did not adequately understand the meaning of this big criticism. Secondly, we failed to combine the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform. Accordingly, we creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings having regard for the new problem. We called forums and did a lot of political and ideological work. In this way, we made everybody realize the great significance of the big criticism. At the same time, through reading newspapers, we explained the crimes of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road -- crimes of comeback of capitalism. In particular, we explained his reactionary words and actions in Tientsin's former Tungya Woolen Textile Mill. Many of the workers of our factory were made to suffer by the exploiting class in the old society, and they had a feud of blood and tears against the exploiting class. Our big criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road thus began with criticism of his absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service." In this way, we directly combined the criticism of China's Khrushchev with what our factory's workers had suffered from exploitation.

The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road told capitalists, "It is you who support the workers. The more factories you build and the more you exploit the workers, the better." Listening to this, we nearly burst with anger. We knew the most clearly whether capitalists were good or bad. The capitalists of our factory lived in nice apartments and were extravagant. They had nothing which had not come from the blood and sweat of us workers. The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road spread the view that "exploitation is a meritorious service." This sufficed to show that he was a 100 percent agent of the bourgeoisie within the party. Some workers said: When he told capitalists that if they "continued to exert effort, you would have a bright future, and the restoration of the country and nation would be a matter of time," he was encouraging capitalism, opposing socialism, and wanting our working class to suffer exploitation and be slaves. It was quite clear that, unless the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road was overthrown, the socialist state would change its color and we workers would suffer a second time.

Chairman Mao said, "IN OUR COUNTRY, SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION HAS BEEN BASICALLY COMPLETED AS FAR AS THE SYSTEM OF OWNERSHIP IS CONCERNED, AND THE LARGE-SCALE STORMY MASS CLASS STRUGGLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD HAVE BASICALLY COME TO A CONCLUSION. BUT REMNANTS OF THE LANDLORD COMPRADORE CLASS THAT HAS BEEN OVERTHROWN ARE STILL PRESENT. THE BOURGEOISIE IS STILL PRESENT. THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE IS JUST BEING REFORMED. CLASS STRUGGLE HAS NOT COME TO A CONCLUSION. THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE, THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN DIFFERENT POLITICAL FORCES, AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE IS STILL LONG-LASTING, TORTUOUS, AND SOMETIMES VERY INTENSE."

While criticizing the absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service," the broad masses of the workers followed Chairman Mao's teaching and adduced the indisputable facts of the class struggle of our factory to refute effectively the "theory of extinction of class struggle" advocated by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Certain leadership persons of our factory handed to capitalists the big powers of trade mark designing, industrial health, supply and marketing, and labor protection. They also praised capitalists as "authorities on Mickey Mouse candy" and permitted a rich peasant element, who had concealed his status for a long time, to be a production team leader and a labor protection committee member. Making use of the authority he had usurped, the capitalist shot poisoned arrow after poisoned arrow through the candy labels. He used as candy trade marks portraits of the God of Long Life, Liang Shan-po, Chu Ying-t'ai, and strange-looking women, thus vending feudalist, capitalist, and revisionist black goods by wholesale. Concerning the question of party building, quite a few among the party members recruited in our factory had problems. There was a partner who received fixed dividends with one hand and paid party dues with the other. There were also foremen and big hooligans. All these facts profoundly educated the broad masses of the workers. The biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road said, "For some time, the working

class probably cannot be depended on." Everybody saw clearly that our factory had acted in accordance with this reactionary theory before the power seizure, when it depended not on workers but on capitalists.

In the movement of big criticism, we further mobilized the masses to expose and criticize profoundly the bourgeois reactionary line enforced in the great cultural revolution by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The broad masses of the revolutionary workers realized that, over the question of cadres, "striking against a big surface, protecting a small handful" must be entered into the book to the debit of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Those cadres who once enforced the bourgeois reactionary line should be welcomed by us if they realized and corrected their mistakes and returned to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Helped by proletarian revolutionaries, the fairly good cadres further examined their mistakes in front of the masses. Then, with the unanimous approval of the masses, they were absorbed into the revolutionary committee as members. In this way, the revolutionary big alliance and the revolutionary "triple combination" were strengthened and consolidated.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing put it well, "The struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit does not clash but can be united with the work of criticizing the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The big criticism of the small handful of biggest party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can effectively move forward the struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit. The struggle, criticism, and reform of each unit will make possible the fuller exposure and deeper criticism of the poisons spread on all fronts by the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road."

The proletarian revolutionaries of our factory found a way in the practice of struggle. This way was to begin with criticism of the absurd view that "exploitation is a meritorious service," and to combine the criticism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road firmly with our factory's struggle between two classes, two roads, and two lines, and with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform. In this way, we further mobilized the masses of the workers throughout the factory to plunge themselves more actively and consciously into the revolutionary movement of big criticism, thus deepening our factory's work of struggle, criticism, and reform.

II

After energetically criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his absurd views such as that "exploitation is a meritorious service," our factory's proletarian revolutionaries, without loss of time, continued to mobilize the masses boldly and carried out a revolution of the factory's old system for operations management. We realized that, unless revolutionization of the

enterprise was carried out, unless the poisons of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the management of operations were cleared up, and if the old things were kept intact, then the hotbed for revisionism would continue to exist, and the comeback of capitalism would still be possible. For this reason, we regarded the reform of the system for operations management as an exceedingly important part of combination of the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform.

The broad masses of the workers of our factory concentrated on exposing and criticizing three problems in the system for operations management.

One was the exposure and criticism of institutions contrary to Chairman Mao's great policy of "STREAMLINED ARMY AND SIMPLIFIED ADMINISTRATION." Our factory had only 200-300 workers, but it had six functional units and one workshop office. Administrative personnel were as many as 38, accounting for 17 percent of the total number of workers and employees of the factory. From the factory manager's office to the production team, offices were redundant. "There are many teams and persons, and when matters have to be attended to, a lot of procrastination goes on." When a worker had to apply for a small spare part, he had to file the application through three or four levels, namely, the production team leader, the workshop superintendent, the functional group leader, and the factory manager. In the administrative department, there are more people than things to be done. "There are many mouths to feed, but few hands to do the work." "The workers work busily in production, trying to save one minute or one second. But some administrative personnel are so idle that they spin yarns." In this way, the cadres were separated from the masses, and the workers were very critical.

The second was the exposure and criticism of our factory's practice of revisionist "techniques first, targets first, output first, profit first." These four first's were completely opposed to Chairman Mao's politics being the commander-in-chief and the soul and to Comrade Lin Piao's four first's. Practice of "techniques first" resulted in a capitalist being praised as "authority on Mickey Mouse candy." It was thought that but for him there would have been no Mickey Mouse candy. Practice of "targets first" and "output first" meant extensive material incentive and cash awards in command. The masses' revolutionary morale was undermined. Attention was paid only to production, not to politics. Practice of "profit first" turned the factory into a capitalist factory which sought nothing but profit.

The third was exposure and criticism of our factory's capitalist management system hampering the workers' activism and creativeness and hampering the development of production. Responsible for the quality of product, workers had to change production technical measures slightly depending on changes in the quality of materials and raw materials and in the weather. But this was considered as "contrary to operational rules." The old regulations and system greatly hampered the workers' activism and creativeness. In this way, the workers were turned into slaves of regulations and system.

Chairman Mao often teaches us in these terms: WITHOUT DEMOLITION THERE IS NO CONSTRUCTION. DEMOLITION MEANS CRITICISM AND REVOLUTION. DEMOLITION REQUIRES REASONING, AND REASONING IS CONSTRUCTION. WHEN DEMOLITION IS PARAMOUNT, IT AT THE SAME TIME IMPLIES CONSTRUCTION. In the process of combining the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, the revolutionary workers carried out increasingly penetrating exposure and criticism. As they did so, they felt surer that the revisionist practices must be demolished. How were they to be demolished? The revolutionary committee of our factory attended to two matters. First, it gave prominence to politics and let the thought of Mao Tse-tung command everything. Secondly, it implemented the mass line, trusted the masses, and depended on the masses. Concerning how the factory was to reform its system, the revolutionary committee did not begin by imposing any rules or frameworks. It called on the revolutionary workers to regard the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon and to make observation and analysis. It mobilized everybody to express opinions and make suggestions. While mobilizing the workers to express opinions, it also organized the administrative personnel to discuss tasks, determine organizations and talk about division of labor. In this way, after a period of study and discussion, the factory's three levels of leadership offices were changed to two levels. Production tasks directly reached the production teams. The original six functional groups were changed to six groups -- the political group, the production group, and the logistic group. Cadres sitting in offices were reduced by a large number. The number of administrative personnel was cut by 42 percent. Those who had been functionaries were more able to go to the workshop and to face in the direction of production and workers. Together with the workers, they fought on the front line of production. By going to the workshop to take part in labor, the administrative personnel not only strengthened their ties with the workers and improved their unity with them, but were able to solve promptly many problems in production. The production teams had certain authorities and were able to handle problems in accordance with concrete conditions. The masses of the workers said, "In the past, we only had the duty to work but did not have the right to take part in administration. Things are now better. We workers have really become the masters and housekeepers!" Full play was given to the activism and creativeness of the masses of the workers.

III

The process of combining the big criticism with each unit's struggle, criticism, and reform is a process of extensively demolishing bourgeois thought and extensively building capitalist thought, a process of extensively demolishing capitalism and extensively building socialism, and a process of extensively criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line and extensively establishing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In a word, it is a process of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, demolishing bourgeois things and building proletarian things, and realizing the revolutionization of the thought of man.

In the process of combining the big criticism with our own unit's struggle, criticism, and reform, we often led the masses of the workers to apply Chairman Mao's glorious thought and revolutionary line and criticize the poisons spread in our factory by the reactionary words and actions of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road and by his counterrevolutionary revisionist line. As they went on with criticism, everybody came to realize more clearly the crimes of comeback of capitalism of the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and the harm to revolution of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line. As they went on with criticism, everybody came to hate even more the biggest party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Their infinite love for Chairman Mao, the reddest, reddest sun in our minds, was increased, and so was their infinite faith in the glorious thought of Mao Tse-tung and in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Before revolutionization of the enterprise can be realized, a good job must be made of the revolutionization of the thought of man. The worker comrades put it well: In order to demolish the old system, we must demolish the old ideas and old frameworks first. Cadres must demolish the old thoughts and old habits which had made them want to go to higher levels but not to lower levels, and which had made them want to be "bureaucrats" but not "humble people." Workers must welcome the cadres as they come to the workshop to labor and to work. In the process of demolishing the old system and building a new system, administrative personnel came across some ideological problems. First, they were impatient to go to the workshop to labor. They thought, "Administrative work is hard. I'll feel relieved when I no longer hold an official position. I am skilled, and I can labor for eight hours a day in the workshop." Secondly, they were afraid that if they went to the workshop, people would think by mistake that they had done wrong, or would not welcome them. In view of such real thoughts, the factory's revolutionary committee organized the workers to study deeply the "three old pieces," to study Chairman Mao's directive of "STREAMLINED ARMY AND SIMPLIFIED ADMINISTRATION" and teachings on the need for cadres to take part in collective productive labor, and to study the letter of the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionary workers and cadres of all factories and mines in the country. As a result of the study, the administrative personnel all said, "Streamlined army and simplified administration is an appeal by Chairman Mao. We must carry it out firmly," and, "Whether we go to the lower level or remain at the higher level, we are doing something needed by the revolution," and, "When we go to the lower level, we must not only concern ourselves with production for eight hours. We must help the teams do their work well. When we remain at the higher level, we must dare to carry the heavy burden and properly serve production and the masses." As a result of the study, the workers of the workshop all said that they would welcome administrative personnel coming to the workshop to labor. In this way, those comrades who remained at the higher level actively took up heavy burdens and continuously improved their work. Whenever they had time, they went to the production teams. Their work was done penetratingly, and their work style improved. Those comrades who went to the workshop labored actively and worked seriously. They felt happy.

Once, the functionaries going to the candy workshop discovered some lowering of the quality of toffee. On their own initiative, they and the workers examined one work process after another to discover the cause, and studied measures for improvement. Very soon, the problem was solved.

In the process of combining the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, the workers energetically and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings. Their class consciousness was further raised. They demonstrated greater revolutionary vigor. Production rose continuously. It rose by 40.6 percent in the first quarter as compared with the corresponding period last year. In April, the plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule and then overfulfilled. In May, the monthly plan was fulfilled four days ahead of schedule and then overfulfilled by 14.8 percent.

Chairman Mao's writings are a red magic book. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a street lamp for the revolutionary people. We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, grasp the main contradiction, firmly grasp the main direction of the struggle, avoid conceit and rashness, continue our forward march, further combine the big criticism with our factory's struggle, criticism, and reform, thoroughly eliminate the poisons in our factory of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line, and make up our minds to turn Aimin Candy Factory into a bright red big school of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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CSO: 3530-D